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young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

CHAPTER III

THE STATE

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BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

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The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin 'Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikhs 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

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The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

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The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judicial, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

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The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

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before this day, but gathers strength on the night of the 9th. As the 796
 mourners leave the martams they are joined by others, some bearing
 torches and others carrying models of the tombs of Ali, Hussein and
 the others, while small children act the parts of the children of Hussein.
 Bands of men perform complex dances as they beat their backs [535]
 with metal whips, while others cut their foreheads with swords. Men
 beat their bare chests as they are led by flag-bearers who keep time
 for the dancers. Music is supplied by the drums and chanting which
 fills the air with the sound, while wailing of black-clothed women
 on the roof-tops of the houses lining the route adds to the noise of
 the procession. White horses painted red to represent the blood
 of the martyrs, little children carried in litters and various other figures
 represent events in the drama of the passion play. As the morning of
 the 10th breaks preparations are made for the renewal of the procession,
 police line the routes, by-standers gather and the members of the pro-
 cession leave the martams, joined later by the Shia from the villages.
 Slowly the great mass of men and boys passes through the streets, often
 taking over 1½ hours to pass one point but always completely under
 control and in time with the beating of the drums and the clash of the
 cymbals. Each group of men is led by one who is in charge of them and
 sees that they keep in time. In front of the breast-beaters is a man
 with a flag whose duty it is to indicate where they are to stop walking
 and start thumping their chests, and with his flag he indicates the tempo,
 and all along the route the thud can be heard as thousands of brawny
 men crash their arms and fists against their chests. In the centre of
 each huge circle of chain-men are two men with cymbals; these run
 up and down the road beating the cymbals and shouting "Ya Hussein"
 as the black robed men and boys strike their naked backs with copper
 chains. Despite its sound, this latter does little harm to the men and
 it is very rare that blood is drawn.

In former times it has been known for the man who acted the part [186]
 of Yazid, the villain of the Passion Play, to have been seriously wounded
 by people carried away by the scene, but today Yazid no longer appears
 in the procession, nor does the Christian who gave water to Hussein
 and his people and who was formerly represented as a man with a sun-
 helmet, waving a whisky bottle and obviously drunk. This was in the
 days when the British were the only Christians in Bahrain and this was
 therefore considered the way in which to indicate a Christian! Today,
 with the exception of the small children who are carried in litters the
 only person who appears in the play is Zain al-Abdin, the only adult
 male survivor of the massacre, who appears riding on a horse or a camel
 and whose part is usually taken by one of the religious teachers or their
 assistants.

The procession¹ is arranged in nationalities, the Bahrainis, Persians, 796
 Qatifis and Hasawis, and the two latter groups of people come to 795
 Bahrain from Saudi Arabia, where the procession is banned. Each
 group, led by men with huge embroidered banners, passes along the
 road through rows of silent onlookers, many of whom are Sunni and

7 [On the 10th Muharram⁷³ - Analyst]

EDUCATION

Boys Schools

(From the report of Mr. Ahmed Umran, Director of Education).

Schools. Three new village schools, at Sanad, Tubli and Karzakan, were built and presented to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The schools were fully furnished and in each place there was space for a playground near the building. His Highness Shaikh Sulman was present at the opening of the Tubli school and His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla, Minister of Education, attended the openings of the other two schools. The gift of these three buildings was much appreciated by the Government and by the people of the villages for which the schools provided education. 346
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A large new school, on the Muharraq sea front, for small boys, was opened at the beginning of the term, with this school and three new village schools, and some additional class rooms in existing schools, it was possible to increase the total number of boys in the state schools by 610.

The building of these three schools roused immediate demands from other villages for schools to be built in their districts. Some of these requests came from villages within easy walking distance from schools. The desire for schools and sometimes for dispensaries is not always governed by real need; the existence of a school now seems to confer on a village a certain cachet. It was decided by His Highness on his return from England that three more village schools should be built by the Government, at Jidhafs, Asker and Jaw; the last place being the most distant inhabited village on the western coast. Towards the end of the year work was begun on these schools.

The growth of schools in the villages has had some repercussions. In the past the Shia villages provided the tenants and labourers in the date gardens, most of which are owned by Sunni Arabs. Landlords now realise that when the village boys acquire education they will no longer be content to work in the gardens or as fishermen, as their fathers did before them. There is already a shortage of local labour for the date gardens and little competition to lease them. The town-dwelling landlords therefore do not view with enthusiasm the spread of education in the villages. 464
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Staff. Every year the expansion of education makes it necessary to employ more teachers; those who complete their training in Bahrain are insufficient and have not enough experience to fill all the posts so each term the number of foreign teachers increases. Among most people this is regarded with disfavour, although there is a tendency among some to assume that because a teacher comes from abroad he must necessarily be better than any local product. Again in 1372 more teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. The Director of Education, with the valuable assistance of the British Council in Beirut, enlisted 22 Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians and he obtained from Cairo 5 Egyptian teachers to fill vacancies made by retirements and to provide staff for larger schools. At the end of the year the number of teachers in the boys schools was as follows :- 875
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Egyptians	..	..	..	10
Indians	..	..	..	2
Syrians	..	..	..	6
Lebanese	..	..	..	24
Palestinians	..	..	..	23
Others	..	..	..	3
Bahrainis	..	..	..	136
Total	..	..	..	204

There was a continued improvement in the standard of English in the Secondary School, due principally to its being taught by a British teacher lent to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. This arrangement has proved extremely successful.

7 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

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Abolition of visas. An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

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Illegal Entries. The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

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Bahrain Nationality. During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

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Passport Official's Course. Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

At the end of the year the amount in the Police Provident Fund was Rs. 2,11,507. The balance of the Police Fund was Rs. 11,563/-, the sum of Rs. 5,744/- was paid out in loans to Police and Natus, most of the payments being for building or repairing houses. 625
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Crimes and Accidents. There was a slight increase in the number of serious crimes which is thought to be partly due to the large influx of foreigners, especially Omanis, during recent years. 674
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On 25th January, 1953, some Omanis who were living in the brothel area, missed one of their party, Abdulla bin Salim. They went to his house which was found to be locked. One of them climbed over the wall and on entering the house he found Abdulla with his throat cut. The victim was a bad character, a procurer in the brothel area. Police investigations produced no evidence to justify a prosecution.

On 13th December, 1952, a youth named Abdul Husain bin Isa, who worked as a car cleaner and who habitually slept in a garage in Manama, was found by the owner of the garage, when he came to take out his car, lying dead on his bed with a wound in his back and signs of having been throttled. The garage doors were locked, one key was in the possession of the youth and the owner of the garage had another key. The garage, however, could have been entered by an inner door. There appeared to be no motive for the murder as the victim was not of the type to be associated with an affair of sex. The Police arrested the owner of the garage and his brother and laid a charge of murder against them in the Bahrain Court. The family of the murdered man were insistent that he had been murdered by the owners of the garage. The case was heard and the accused were acquitted owing to lack of evidence. 674
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On 17th May, 1953, one Abdul Husain bin Haji Sulman bin Khalaf, a local Bahraini, was walking in a lane near his house, at night. His brother, Ibrahim, came on him from behind and stabbed him twice with a knife. He was seriously injured but after hospital treatment he recovered. The reason for the attack was a family quarrel. The attacker was sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour.

On 7th November, 1952, two men were cleaning their hands with petrol at one of the garages in Manama. Another man lit a match which ignited the petrol causing serious burns to both of the men one of whom subsequently died in hospital.

An Omani came from Dubai and reported to the Police that two years before his son, aged 18, who was working in a garage in Bahrain, died from burns. It was established that the boy had died in hospital as a result of burns but no evidence was forthcoming about the cause of the burns.

A man who was arrested for pickpocketing attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor blade, in the Police Station.

There were two deaths from electrocution. A boy of 12 years caught hold of an electric wire in a shop and was killed, and a man climbed an electric standard, in order to catch birds, touched a live wire and was killed immediately. [165]

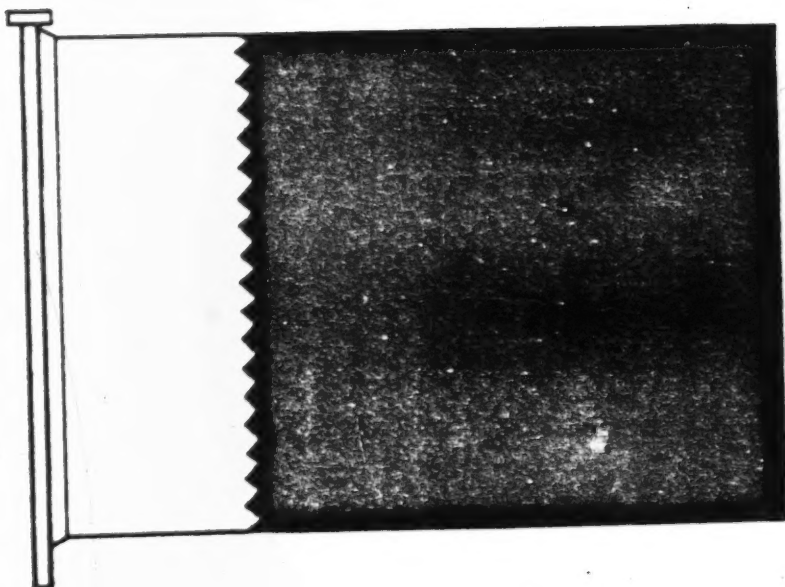
Five cases of accidental drowning occurred, two men were lost when their small fishing craft capsized, an old man, reputed to be nearly 100 years old, fell into the sea from a fishing boat during stormy weather off Barbar and two children were drowned on the shore west of Manama town. In none of these cases was there any suggestion of foul play.

On 23rd August, 1953, some boys were out shooting on the shore near Jasrah. A shot from the gun of Mohamed Ahmed Al Ghatam entered the neck of one Ibrahim bin Mohamed Al Khalifah and killed him. The owner of the gun immediately left Bahrain. His father was ordered to pay Rs. 5000 to the relatives of the victim and to remove himself from Jasrah and an order was passed against the son forbidding him to return to Bahrain for an indefinite period. The families were related and were branches of the Ruling Family.

There were 280 cases of theft reported to the Police against 303 cases in 1371. Of these cases 55 were presented in Court, 133 cases were undetected and 92 cases were not proceeded with for lack of evidence. Most of the cases were pickpocketing and thefts of clothes:

6:Farouhy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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FLAG

The flag of Bahrain is red with a vertical white bar next to the staff

[facing page 29]

SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

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An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs. In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

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Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

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The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

THE JEWS

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A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

Table IV. FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

Year	Egypt	Syria	Lebanon	Palestine	Other Arab Countries	Other Nationalities	Total
1944/45.....	12	2	12	—	—	2	28
1945/46.....	10	—	13	—	1	2	26
1946/47.....	13	9	12	—	1	2	37
1947/48.....	11	7	14	—	1	2	35
1948/49.....	23	6	14	—	1	3	46
1949/50.....	20	7	14	9	1	3	54
1950/51.....	9	9	15	10	1	3	47
1951/52.....	9	7	27	18	2	4	67

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

the course of development in Bahrain leaves no doubt that they will gradually be resolved. Bahrainis are receiving education at an increasing rate and are now gradually replacing these two foreign elements in clerical and intermediate positions. There will come a time when foreign labor is no longer needed. All foreign establishments in Bahrain, in response to local pressure, are now replacing foreign employees with Bahrainis, even if at the cost of some efficiency.

Once the clerical and professional group becomes expendable, the major source of resentment will have been removed. Even if some Indians remain, the native Bahrainis will be able to compete with them on equal terms. In the case of the Persians, until the political issues primarily between the British and the Iranian governments concerning sovereignty over Bahrain are clarified, their position will stay the same.

What of the Westerners? It is my belief that the crisis is yet to come. Despite considerable talk, especially among the literate segment of the population, about exploitation, imperialism, and privileges, the Westerners' higher social status is accepted. The native population has been used for generations to think of them as a group with a special status over and above its own, and it will take some time before a mental reorientation is completed. In the second place, the native people fully realize that they need them. They may want to hate the foreign doctor but they need his medical skill; they may detest the oil company, but it supplies them with necessary royalties. The time, however, is drawing near when the problem will have to be faced. Negative nationalism and other political forces such as Communism (which at present has little influence in the Gulf) may force the issue prematurely if favorable circumstances arise.

342 flat roofs, surrounded by parapets. Those with two or more stories sometimes have broad balconies.

342 In the towns, the poorer people often
511 occupy multifamily houses in the older, congested districts or live in hut settlements on the outskirts. The huts, known locally as *barastis*, are made of bamboo or date-stick poles interwoven with palm leaves, and roofed with palm-leaf matting. They are frequently grouped within pole and matting stockades, the individual huts being separated by narrow alleys. Of the 5,703 houses counted in the town of Manama at the time of the 1950 census, 2,608 were of palm-leaf construction. Although the standards of living have improved among the laboring classes within recent years, most of the rural inhabitants dwell under primitive conditions, as did their forefathers. Palm-leaf huts predominate in the date garden and the fishing villages. They are admirably adapted to the heat of summer, but afford poor protection against the occasional cold winds.

186 The rural Baharna and Arabs live apart
361 in segregated villages, and even in the towns
653 there is a tendency for the different racial
342 and religious groups to form distinct communities. The Bahrain Petroleum Company has created a self-sufficient modern settlement for its British and American employees at Awali, on the edge of the oil field area. The development of modern housing projects is also being promoted by the government, and plans are under consideration for the demolition of certain slum areas and the erection of low-rental dwellings.

ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

WATER SUPPLIES

312 The fame of the sweet-water springs of Bahrain stems from ancient times, and undoubtedly contributed to the early development of Manama as a trading center. No only do abundant sources of water exist in the oases along the northern end of Bahrain

CLIMATE

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comes the north wind, and in violence the south-wester (*Qaus*), 132 which is fiercely hot in August and blows irregularly between December and April. See further, vol. ii, p. 346 f.

POPULATION

Though no census has been taken, the population of the 4 towns and 104 villages in the principality has been estimated as over 100,000, of whom 60,000, chiefly townsmen, are Sunni, and 40,000, chiefly villagers, Shiah. The latter are for the most part *Bahārīnah* (see p. 299), but this class, which is mainly agricultural, is here hardly above the servile state. The most numerous Sunni community is that of the *Hūwalah*, who are townsmen of Manāmah. Muharraq, Budeyya', Hadd, and Hālah Bin Anas, living by trade and without solidarity among themselves or influence on others. The 'Utūb, Sādah, and Dawāsir are the most influential tribesmen, the first on account of their connexion with the ruling family, the second by virtue of their supposed sacred origin, the Dawāsir because they are well disciplined by their chief and comparatively wealthy; there are also a few Beni Khālid (see below, p. 608). The remainder of the Sunni population live mostly on the coast, and depend for their subsistence rather on the sea than on cultivation. There are at least 5,000 free negroes and 6,000 negro slaves; a few Persians, Hindus, Basra Arabs and Jews complete the population. Life in Bahrein is more various and many-coloured than on the mainland of Arabia; the exclusiveness of a people cut off from intercourse with other races is absent, and the opportunity to indulge a taste for luxury has not been disdained. Direct relations with Persia and India have influenced costume, domestic appliances, and the architecture of the larger houses, in which the pointed arch is a conspicuous feature.

INDUSTRIES AND TRADE

The most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, and the fisheries are the most valuable in the Gulf next to those of Trucial Oman. Were the fisheries to cease, most of the urban population would have to leave the country. They employ more than 900 boats, each with a crew of about 20, the total crews amounting to nearly 20,000 men. The pearling season opens in May, and some boats continue operations until about October. Special measures had to be taken in 1915 by the Sheikh, in conjunction with the British Resident, to enable the pearl-fishing population to tide over the crisis caused by the stoppage of the